Bella Coola Indians - Carbon Original Part One XXVII

379-0054/001 (36)

give us medicines for her." Many of the kukusiut give the old women medicines to increase the realistic effect of their request. That night when all is ready the amkl mata are called in and take their places in the two corners near the door. They see in the central position behind the fire a large figure wearing a mask of a woman in the pangs of delivery and with a huge stomach as if on the point of giving birth. She is Numucska, a representation of Mother Nature though the amkl mata do not know this. She lies on some raised planking and slightly below her are the two old women who carry iqw and moq sponges as if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant. Behind Numucska two matting enclosures have been constructed as if they were qlustas. Anulikwuzait stands up ready to explain as usual. The performers are children and one of these now comes forth from beneath Numucska's stomach, as if born from her, wearing a mask above which is a carved stick representing Swac ntsc k, the leaves of the Willow. The midwives handle the boy as if he were a new-born child whom they were washing, and announce , "It is Swac nts k", in the samemanner that a midwife says, "It is a boy," Swac nts k dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Swac nts k", while Anulikwuzait adds her comments, "Yes, there is Swac nts k, see him." Then the masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is At anut , the Gooseberry (Ribes Divaricatum Dougl.). The same procedure is carried out with him as with Willow, then he too disappears into the enclosure. Then in succession (each waiting a few moments after the preceding figure has disappeared) appear Txna, the Nettle (Urtica Lyallii, Wats.), Slaos, Grass (all kinds), and Okoq, the Western Skunk Cabbage (Lysichiton Kamtschatcense, Schott). With each the same procedure is carried out. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Akms lp, the Black Cottonwood (Populus Trichocarpa, T & G.). This figure is born in the same way as the others but instead of vanishing into the enclosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper (upstream) side of the house. After him comes N knak mp ,("The Dancing Tree"), the American Aspen (Populus Tremuloides, Michx.): a good dancer is likewise chosen to wear this mask and he remains dancing back and forth

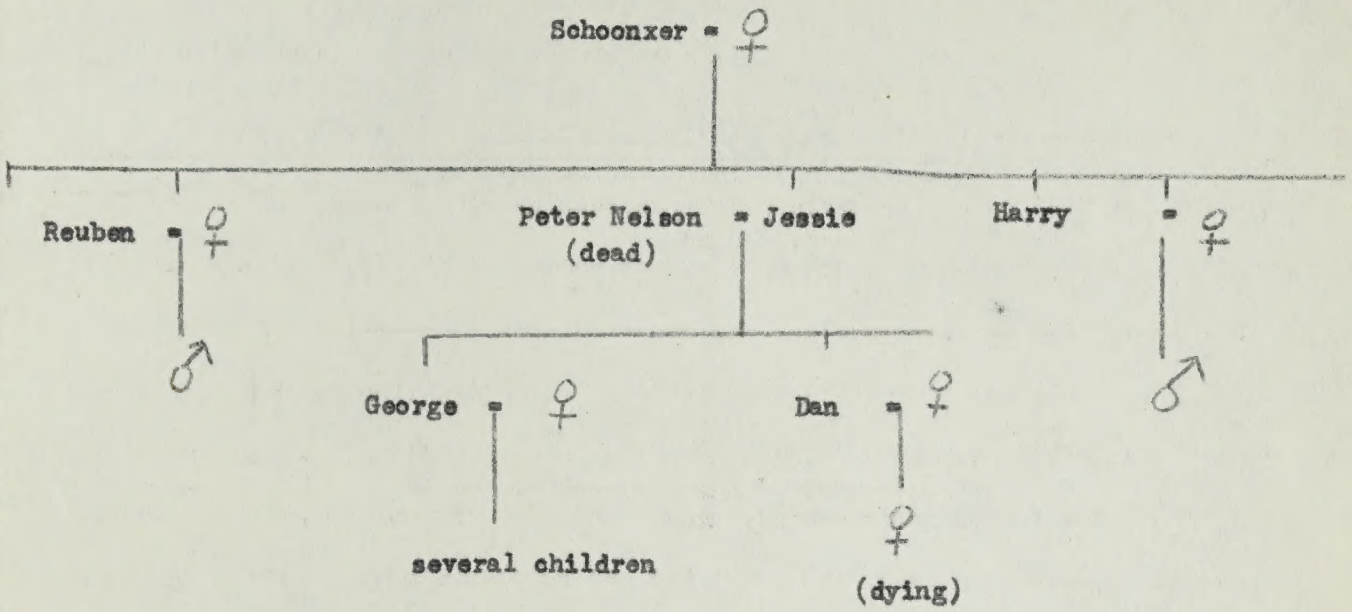
on the lower (downstream) side of the house. Anulikwuxait announces, amid breathless interest, "Snuqpan tz is coming". This is the South Wind who enters the house from the front door wearing the mask of a handsome young man. He goes to Numuoska as if he were a doctor called in to assist delivery, works over her and apparently with success, because her mask is changed, while someone conceals this from the amkl mata, to one portaying a woman radiant in the joys of motherhood. Snuqpan tz retires to the lower side of the house where he dances to and fro near N knak mp , at intervals going to Numuoska. The with a rush Sp s, the North Wind, rushes in but he is to late to achieve his fell design, the destruction of Numuoska when in the act of delivery, and he remains dancing to and fro on the upper side of the house not far from Akms lp. The advent of Snuqpan tz has made it easy for Numuoska to give birth and in close succession there follows one masked figure after another, representing the plants, trees, and shrubs known to the Indians. Those first to appear, prior to the coming of the South Wind have been the early plants in order of their showing signs of green, but afterwards there is no fixed order of appearance, except to follow as closely as possible the ~~at~~ order of their appearance in the spring. When Qai, the Black Hawthorn, (Crataegus Brevispina Dougl.) is being born there is great difficulty. He kicks, squirms, and cries requiring the assistance of the two midwives and of Snuqpan tz for his delivery. As soon as his name is announced the meaning of this trouble becomes plain because the fruit is poisonous and causes griping in the stomach. Often as many as three hundred representations are used, often the same masks but with the painted stick representing the flower which is carried above the head being changed. Through the long period of their birth the Willow, Aspen, North and South Winds continue their dancing, the North Wind at intervals striving to reach Numuoska, but always driven back by the ever watchful South Wind. To the amkl mata it appears wonderful, perhaps miraculous, how so many persons can be hidden within the small enclosure, in reality no more than fifteen boys and girls are used, they change their masks ~~at~~ and reappear. The last masked figure represents Si t , the Afterbirth, which appears to be a mass which does not

appear until late in the season after all other plants have been born. Instead of going around the fire this masked figure is quickly hidden by lying down. Sometimes the amkl msta are sent away at this point, at other times they are allowed tox wait to heat the meaning of the whole ceremonial.

X asks some able kusiut to act as anuwh tz k m aix, i.e. orator. This man explains how we would have had no food if the South Wind had not been able to drive away defeated the North Wind who tried to hurt Numuoska when giving birth to all the food supplies of the vegetable kingdom. Sometimes moreover he adds how S nhalotla sent down to mortals the two types of organisation, the s sack and the kusiut, but that of these the s sack came first. Then two by two the masks are cast into the fire and the ceremonial concludes in the usual manner. 1646

1638 The following is an account of the rites which followed the death of Mrs. Samuel King in Bella Coola on 27th. June 1922. She died suddenly of quinsy at the Bella Coola cannery where she was working. She was daughter of Captain Schooner who was called by telephone and went at once to the cannery, only to find his daughter dead. The rites were complicated owing to the decay of custom with the coming of the whites, on account of which several transcations were carried out at the single gathering of the people that in the old days would have happened on different gatherings, also the most sacred part of the rites were hurried so that they could be completed in case the law forbade further ceremoials. For these, and other reasons, including the grief on my informant, the woman's father, it was difficult to obtain a satisfactory account of the whole but I believe the following to be fairly accurate.

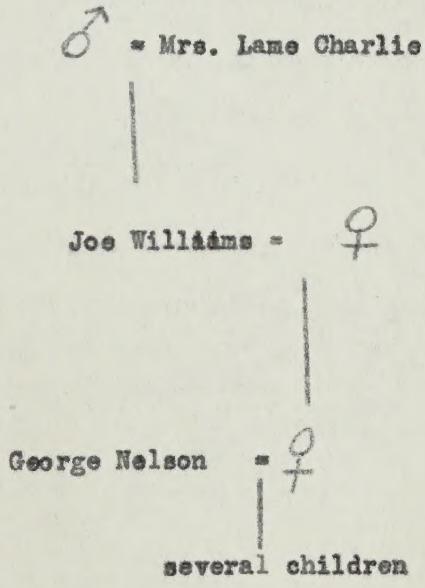
It will be necessary to understand the relationships of certain persons as shown in the following pedigrees, in each case only those necessary are named. The dead woman's kus ut name was Omqomkilika, but it will be convenient to speak of her by her white name, Jessie.



After the death of Peter Nelson Jessie married Samuel King, whose wife she was at the time of her death but by whom she had had no children.

Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of this marriage.

After the death of her husband Joe Williams's mother married Lame Charlie whose wife she was at the time of Jessie's death.



At the time of his mother's death George Nelson had not been living with his wife for about one year as she had become a public prostitute.

When Schooner reached the cannery and found his daughter dead he called the stalt ma

who were at the cannery, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby, and Alexander Clallaman, and informed them that he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into the ground as if she were a dog (burial without ceremonial is nukludjaxh m), but that he wanted to summon the people, have the mourning songs sung, and also have her life return in the shape of her forefather's stories. Schooner, both as a numit stalt m and as father of the dead woman had the right to do as he liked, so no objections were raised mx to his proposal for the immediate return of the life though normally this would have taken place several years later at a M m. Samuel King was not present, if he had been there he would have been consulted as a matter of course both as husband of the deceased and as a stalt m , but usually a married woman is buried by her family, especially if she has not had children by her husband. Such a decision always varies according to the importance of the two families, and according to their wishes; in this case Schooner was a man of strong character and importance, whereas Samuel King is not aggressive. Schooner also told the stalt m s that Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was on the point of death and it would be well to hold the ceremonial which would normally have followed her death, at the same time as that for her grandmother. Schooner did not mention how much money he proposed to use in this rite, if no one had helped him it would have been $200.00. Soon after the other stalt m s had left Reuben came in, having been summoned from the logging-camp where he was working. Father and son discussed details of the forthcoming rite, it was decided that the dead woman should reappear as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her ancestral stories for which the necessary masks were available, that Timothy Snow should be the carpenter chosen to put them in good shape, and that Reuben should sing one of his s aok songs. It was further arranged that the band should play. Reuben told his father that he would contribute $60.00.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by her woman friends and clad in her best clothing. The manager of the cannery contributed the coffin, a rough box shaped like that used by white mxm men. All the women wailed at intervals near the body but there was no systematic ceremonial. As a matter of course the news was carried to all the Bella

Coolas, those Indians who had gasoline launches acted as messengers to the different logging camps without further ado. There were few Indians in the village at the time, however I learnt the news from a returning Carrier Indian and acted as herald, each woman as she was told rushing off to some female friend with whom she began to wail.

Early on the morning of the 28th. Schooner and his wife (a second wife, not Jessie's mother) returned from the cannery to his house. He had been crying and was very sad, but was willing to talk and seemed grateful to me for spending my time with him. He discussed the coming ceremony, saying, "If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my fathers would have done, my heart will be dead within me, dead as my child. But if I call the people, if we sing the mourning songs for my children I shall be able to bear my grief, I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold my head up with anyone, secure in the knowledge that my child will have had the fitting rites performed over her as is her due as a stalt m . Should I let her be buried carelessly, my heart would be dead within me and I should be ashamed and miserable. Jim Pollard warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies, but I cannot help it, if I am sent to jail, I shall go to jail, better that I should go to jail than that my daughter should not receive a stalt m burial." Schooner was very dignified about the affair, determined to do what was right no matter what should transpire, not in any boasting spirit, but calm in his determination to carry out his ancient rights which he thought the law had no right to oppose. He was sober, said he would drink no wine that day (I believe he carried this out, at least he did not drink enough to show it), and hoped no one else would do so as it would be disrespectful to his daughter if people were drunk at her funeral. At intervals during the morning various people came to talk with him, the nunusi m to discuss with him their plans, he is tsulk m, and Judas who refused to lend his house, so it was decided that the ceremony should take place in the hall which is built in white man's fashion and illuminated with gasoline lights.

Samuel King wished to show his grief, and also was unwilling that the relation-

ship by marriage between his family and the Schooners should be terminated, so he consulted his brother and siter and they agreed that it would be a good thing if his daughter, by his first wife, should be married to George Nelson. The girl was consulted and had no objections, so the matter was settled as far as they were concerned. It was to be a real marriage as the girl had menstruated for the first time several years before. Such a marriage, in which the initiative is taken by the family of the woman is known as t laos m. This marriage was not an essential part of the death ceremonial and added to its complexity.

When a man carries out a ceremony it is customary for debts to be repaid to him. Several years earlier, when Joe Williams was giving a ceremony in honour of two of his dead children Schooner had contributed $100.00. as "blanket for George Nelson's wife" (etzqtc nu). This had been divided as follows, $20.00. to Joe Williams, $20.00. to Mrs. Joe Williams, $10.00. to Mrs. George Nelson, $10.00. to her brother, $20.00. to Lame Charlie, and $20.00. to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe Williams consulted with the other recipients and decided that they should take this opportunity and repay Schooner. The latter did not ask for it, but Joe did the right thing in having it returned, had he not done so Schooner would have been the loser pecuniarily, but Joe's name would have lost in public estimation. They decided to return $150.00., Schooner thus gaining $50.00. on the transaction.

Mrs. George Nelson, aided by Joe Williams, his wife, and other relatives, also decided to take advantage of the gathering to make presents to George as tzaman timut. Unless a wife's family make presents to the husband on all occasions that he carries out a ceremony there will be a stigma attached to the children that "there are no goods on the ground where you walk." They decided to give George a copper and money (? amount). Business transactions such as this and the above take place at ms and tend to confuse the essential part of the ceremony.

To return to the rites. About 12.00. noon the corpse in its coffin was brought by canoe from the cannery and lifted ashore near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe

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~~were the young and strong men who happened to be at the cannery. The coffin was lifted ashore where Schooner sat down beside it. Various~~ People ~~were~~ passed and repassed; some sat down ~~now~~ for a time, then moved off ~~for~~ to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter. Captain Schooner moved around talking ~~with different people. Except for~~ amidst his friends the eery wailing, ~~a mournful sound accompanied by shaking sobs, the attitude of the people was much like that of white men~~ mourners at a ~~funeral~~. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the ~~chiefs~~ to meet him there. ~~He~~ The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those ~~asked~~ invited at the cannery the preceding evening ~~the following were asked~~ he asked Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar, all the older and most influential Bella Coola. Captain Schooner requested the last ~~mentioned~~ named, an important duty, to take charge of the ceremony, ~~he is a chief and also an important linguist~~. At this time Nebuchadnezzar, who ~~told the~~ informed Samuel King told the others what ~~he proposed about~~ (had been arranged for) his daughter, and they agreed that it was good. ~~Apparently~~ It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted, probably he had been for some time on friendly terms with the girl he was to marry ~~for some time~~. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Schooner, and the re-burying ~~payment of taxman tinut on behalf~~ of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided ~~arranged~~ that after the Christian service at the grave various ~~people~~ chiefs should speak.

Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress ~~clothing~~ or other marks of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, ~~these~~ which they set down near the coffin. About 2.00. o'clock the band ~~had~~ gathered and began to play. ~~This is an Indian band which has learnt to use white man's instruments and music. They played~~ selections, the favourite being "Annie Laurie". This went on for some time after the return of the ~~chiefs~~ chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had

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decided that ~~Tallio~~ Jenny, ~~a relative of~~ Schooner's, should carry the fire ~~which always goes~~ in front of ~~a corpse, it is immaterial what woman is chosen for this task~~. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, ~~(not Jessie's clothing)~~, placed ~~them~~ in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling ~~and disorderly~~ procession. Some of the strong young men ~~carried~~ the coffin. Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; ~~others, who proposed to dig the grave, brought~~ tools for ~~this purpose~~, ~~while still~~ other[s] took [bundles] ~~containing Jessie's~~ clothing. There was no fixed ~~arrangement about any~~ allotment of ~~these~~ tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about ~~50~~ fifty yards behind the old village of ~~Comkoitz~~. The heavy timber has all been cut away ~~although~~ and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that ~~Tallio~~ Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to ~~dig~~ dig. ~~Tallio~~ Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug the band performed at intervals, while the women ~~were sitting down and~~ sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were ~~sitting down~~ seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little further away. Children were playing ~~about~~. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but Orientation was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools, there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with ~~use~~ the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. ~~previously brought by one of the young men, to cleanse the grave, this rite has previously been described~~. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from ~~the~~ old

houses which they sawed to the size of the grave and laid on top of the coffin to form a kind of cover for it. While this was being done Judas rose to his feet and began to speak impressively. First he comforted the deceased's family by pointing out that all must travel the same road, then he spoke to Jessie, telling her to travel to the place of her ancestors first stories, and thence to Nusmata. Jim Pollard then got up and spoke in like strain. I was unable to get a close translation of what each said. At the conclusion of Jim's speech the men (Bella Coolas only) called out "ye", while the women uttered a cry which was part drone and part hum. During this Schooner whispered to Robert Hood who rose and announced that Schhonner, Dan, and George were going to cry this evening, and that all were invited. This announcement should have been made by an alk , but there are none of these left in Bella Coola now. Meanwhile the grave was being filled in by the young men, and as it approached level the people began to drift away. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, rather grave dignity, and the hiariousness that characterises most gathefings of Bella Coolas entirely absent, except for the playing children. It was about 4.30. P.M. when all had left the scene.

About 6.30. P.M. the nunusi m met at the hall. This building is a one roomed structure with a raised stage at one end, a large clear hall space, and the door at the opposite end from the stage. Illumination comes from gasoline lamps suspended from the roof. There was some discussion as to the advisability of holding the ceremony here, but it was decided that it would be better to do so owing to the large number of people expected, in spite of the drawbacks of the white man's type of architecture. As the nunusi m gathered they took their places beneath the stage, they were Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, and Kimsquit Alec, with Robert Hood in attendance to beat the drum, this was a white man's drum, none of the native type being available. For several hours the nunusi m practised the mourning songs, one of which had been composed by Billy Pollard, the second by Kimsquit Alec, while the third was an old one. Anyone who desired to do so was allowed to walk in and listen for a

time, but few cared to do so. Meanwhile ~~xxhugexkaxixof~~ rice was being cooked in an huge iron cauldron, placed on the ground near the entrance to the hall. Schooner provided the rice, it cost him $10.00. The chief cook was Jim To-morrow, who volunteered for the task. About 8.00. P.M. the people began to assemble, those living near the hall bringing plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter the people went inside the hall and took their places on benches, one row of which was parallel to and along each side wall, and the others massed at the back. The Bella Coolas took their places on the right hand side of the hall, the Carriers and other guests on the left. Jim To-morrow began to give out the food to all, ladling it into basins from which it was poured onto plates. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was a number of young men helped him. delay until flat pieces of food were split from a block to serve this purpose. The food was distributed without deference to rank, nor was there any fixed order of seating though this was different from the practice of the old days. Men, women, and children had assembled, the last kept talking, moving around and crying loudly all through the evening, though no one seemed worried by this.

Dusk was fast gathering when the ceremony began. Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting on a chair facing the other numusi m all of whom carried sticks in their hands, beat on the floor to attract attention, then rose and spoke impressively, asking the help of everyone to make the ceremony a success so that all would be strenthened by their mutual help to make good the loss to the community, and especially to the family concerned, of Jessie's death.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right hand side of the hall with Willie Mack kneeling at the edge of the clear central space beside them. Joe's daughter gave a number of bills to Willie which he held up (in the vain hope that they could be seen by everyone in the large hall), as he announced that they were "to make clean the place on which (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson sat," and at the same time stated how much money was being given. This was as tzaman timut, without

the payment of which her children would always have been disgraced. As the money was held up and announced a young xxx carried it to George Nelson. The Williams family also gave a copper to George: this copper George later used to place on the ground over which his dead mother walked, while the money he added to the general sum which the Schooner family gave away. Then Joe Williams gave Willie Mack xxxx $150.00. which he announced was the return of the money given by Schooner to Joe Williams, Mrs. Joe Williams, xxxxxxx their son, their daughter, Lame Charlie, and Mrs. Lame Charlie, and was being returned by them. After this money had been xxxxxx exhibited it was taken to Schooner. Willie Mack was chosen for this task simply because he had a good voice and understood the business, any other man with the same qualifications might have been chosen. After a little delay Billy Pollard came in and gave, through Willie Mack, a horse (the animal was not produced) and $10.00. to George Nelson, Billy is a friend, though apparently not a relative, of Joe Williams and this present was to aid in the making clear the way of (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson's children. It should have been given a little earlier but the delay did not seem to surprise or worry anyone.

These preliminaries disposed of they proceeded to the main business. Jim Pollard spoke at some length, describing the journey which Jessie would be making to the regions in which her ancestral stories belonged. After him a Bella Bella stalt m spoke, orating a Bella Bella story which belonged tothe dead woman, and describing where she would travel with respect to this story. No one appeared to pay great attention to these speeches, in fact it was impossible to hear what was said at the back of the hall (where I was seated) owing to the noise made by the children.

The first mourning song (skwanat) was now sung. Billy Pollard had composed the xxx tune and outline of this some time ago and had told it to his wife, so that she assisted him in remembering it. During the day he consulted Schooner and altered a few dextails so that the theme was applicable to the dead Jessie, and the nunusi m learnt it ffom him when they practised in the hall immediately before the meal. The song was worded as if it were Schooner who were speaking, "H Child, you are an eagle now, you

are like Hemoua who will cause the eagle cloak to cover you" and so on, it was impossible to get a literal translation. At intervals the word l amn tzai was repeated, meaning, "My child has fled home", which was as if Schooner was weeping and wailing. For this song Jim Pollard acted as altai a and Nebuchadnezzar as a nkwotzam. The nunusi m kept beating time with their sticks as they sang a bar of the song, then a break while Jim Pollard called on all to cry and sing, then Nebuchadnezzar beat and clashed his sticks at which the song rose again and as many of the audience who had come in earlier and learnt the song joined in. The singing was good and the efect was dignified and impressive.

For the second song Schooner had been called upon to act as tzulk m (i.e. he had fitted the words to the tune) because he alone knew the story: in the old days when the rites were carried out properly the bereaved father would never have been called upon to play a part in the preparation of a song for his child. Kimsquit Alec had composed the song, Billy Pollard acted as altai a, and Nebuchadnezzar as before was a nkwotzam. The theme was instructions to Jessie where she should go, "Go to the mountain whither Qe t (one of her first ancestors) came, thence to the Skeena (Nuskapz) where you will eat a whale so that you may take on a whale's personality and be able to spout like a whale, then far to the north where you will enter a house in which everything is of copper, in which a copper raven lives, and where the salmon are tai taimh , (the type of copper which (it is believed) have been beaten from salmon)." This song was ung in the same manner as that previously described.

The third song was an old one composed at the small-pox epidemic for a Tallio stalt m , Smao h k, who had lost his daughter. He was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother, hence its use was justifiable, in fact it had a double significance because it had been used, on the authority of Jessie's mother, when a brother of Samuel King had died. Schooner had changed the wording to make it applicable to the case. The theme was, "Please stop crying, we have made good your memory, you are as a light to your brother. Go to Smao h k where he stands among the abelone shells far to

the south. Go thither, go overland to Wan q (Rivers Inlet) from where a skamsq (a mythological animal) will serve as canoe for you. You will see the long house through which your ancestor obtained ukwala." This song was sung similarly to the two preceding. It is all right to use an old song, as was done in this case, but if the nunusi m should repeat a song too often it would be considered a mark of inability.

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage, but when a short interval had elapsed after the singing of the mourning songs, he emerged wearing a blue apron ornamented with mother of pearl buttons, and followed by Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low and sad, but penetrating, voice, of considerable musical power. Followed by the other two he slowly walked sunwise in a wide circle around the hall all the time shaking his right hand which was held projecting outwards from the elbow. The three walked very slowly and when they had almost completed a first circuit someone brought Reuben a rattle which he held in his right hand: it became clear at once the meaning of the shaking, he should have held a rattle all the time but there was difficulty in obtaining one, nearly all in Bella Coola have been sold. The song was in Bella Bella, and probably the singer did not understand its significance, certainly few, if any, in the audience knew what it was about. Through his mother Reuben had obtained the right from a Bella Bella stalt m , Ao at , to act as hail kila (the person who has charge of the siut of the s saok ceremonial) with which is included the right to sing with a rattle on occasions such as this, when so doing he is termed a sk mt . At intervals Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar called out, "Kwanat di stalt m ", "It is the mourning song of the chief". Reuben paused near the nunusi m after making two circuits of the hall and Alec Davis, as a skilled speaker and an important man in s saok matters, expounded how the hail kila prerogative had been transmitted to both Reuben and his brother Harry. A little discussion now took place between the important men, including Harry Schooner, which ended in the last named taking the rattle from Reuben and going around the hall once, followed by Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, singing and shaking the

rattle. Harry was less at his ease than his brother Reuben and his singing lacked the musical ability and dignity which rendered his performance so impressive. Harry circled the hall but once, then restored the rattle to Reuben who continued to go around the hall while singing. But this time he paused at intervals, and doubt was obvious on his sleek countenance as he glanced frequently towards the door. Something was interfering with the prearranged plans. This singing on the part of Harry Reuben was to summon from the mysterious regions whither she had gone the life of the dead woman, but there was delay in her appearance due, as it afterwards transpired, to a number of young white girls outside the hall who giggled as the masks were being donned. Reuben cried out, "Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis had gone outside the front door and at last he entered and called out in a loud voice, "Qomotla (Jessie's stalt m came) is coming, she has been to the scenes of her ancestral stories, they have taken her, she comes as Eagle (tz lkt), Raven (Qwax), and Blackfish (siut), bearing with her her grandchild." Alec Davis is a morose, rather sulky individual, often drunk and entirely lacking in dignity, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree, he was dignified, his eyes were bright and shining and he looked (except for the dirty white man's clothing) what he sounded, a man playing an important part in a sacred ceremony. As he spoke there broke forth from outside the sounds of the large cone shaped whistles (qoxo tz, the "the heart of the stalt m ", the whistles which can only be used for a sack ceremonial), and the yelping call of an eagle. The audienc stiffened where it in its seats while all craned their necks to see what was happening at the door. There was a little confusion and a number of men held up some blankets to conceal what was taking place, then there bounded onto the clear floor in the centre a man entirely covered with a white sheet so that the only part of his body visible was his bare feet. On his head he wore a mask of the eagle, from his back projected one of the blackfish, and to his chest was one of the raven, this last being for the dying baby. Timothy Snow had been chosen to wear the

mask because he was a good dancer. Inx a crouching position he slowly circled the hall sunwise. Instead of walking he progressed in a series of short running steps, as if it were a gigantic eagle hopping, then stopped after this advance and turned round on himself sunwise, then another series of hops, and another turn, at intervals raising himself slighly from his crouched position and spreading hsi arms, beneath the sheet, so that the eagle mask on his head was turned upwards, as wh n a bird lifts k its head, and the raven mask on his chest came into full view. At the first appearance of the figure the older Bella Coola women began to drone out "iiiiii" which they continued as long as the mask was in the hall. Alec Davis and two others walked behind the figure sprinkling eagle feathers over it "to make good its path." After circling the hall once the figure went out the front door and there was heard once more the whistling and yelping.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic power and managed to give a tolerably realistic display in spite of the glare of the lights which showed up his bare feet and the defects of his appearance in a manner which would have been impossible in the native type of houses illuminated only by a central fire. The Carriers looked on with silent interest, perhaps akin to contempt, but the Bella Coolas took great interest, even some of the children were awed into silence, though the wailing of sleepy babies was unchecked. Under normal circumstances this return of the "life" would not have taken place until several years after the death, but it was thought best to combine this with the mourning rites in case of police interference. The eagle mask was worn on account of Schooner's father's first ancestor (traced from father to son) having landed on this earth as an eagle near Tc mot . The blackfish belonged to Jessie from her mother, the raven was the copper raven worn for the dying grandchild. In the old days the carpenters would have worked for weeks fashioning an elaborate masked representation of the three, as it was they could use only what masks happened to be in existence and were forced to sew these onto the white sheet. The carpenters would have received much pay for their work in the old days. The large cone shaped

whistles can only be used for a sack ceremonial, Jessie was not a s sack, but as she was a stalt m (the only woman stalt m in Bella Coola) their use for her was justifiable. Jessie was the owner of several stories and her life might have returned as any of them, it was Schooner who decided which should be used.

As soon as the masked figure had disappeared Reuben Schooner threw a copper on the floor over which the masked figure had passed. This corresponded to breaking the copper and throwing it on the fire, an act which was impossible in the hall. Even in the old days a copper was often thrown on the floor where the "life" has stepped. This copper was "to provide bone for Jessie." Schooner and Reuben notified the other stalt m s, who agreed, that this copper should not be redeemed, it will be nailed to a post over Jessie's grave. The copper belonged to Reuben coppers come easily to the Schooners because they have an ancestral story about coppers so anyone wishing to make a present to a Schooner chooses, when possible, a copper as a suitable object.

Next a fourth mourning songxx was sung. There was no reason why this should not have been sung immediately after the first three, but there is great latitude allowed (at the present time at any rate) in the deatails of ceremonial. Nebuchadnezzar, Schooner, Reuben, Jim Pollard and Alec Davis were constantly talking and discussing what they should do next, the unalterable sequence of ritual described from many primitive people was entirely lacking. This mourning song was one which had been used a number of years ago when Schooner called in the Bella Bellas, it had been prepared with great care in order to impress the Bella Bellas who are experts makers of mourning songs. Since that time the numusi m could have used it for any mourning ceremonial but it would have been courteous to ask Schooner's permission before doing so, though it was not a personal possession which he could forbid others to use. The words were arranged as if George and Dan were crying for their mother and other dead relatives, "I, we, are thinking of our mother, of our sister, of my brother, of my mother's brother, my father's brother, my mother's sister, my father's sister, my father, of all the members of our family. Please, ye stalt m s from abroad, turn your

heads, listen to our wail. Ye stat l mtz (well disposed people, "gentlemen"), let us all cry together, it is we who have called you hither. Look upon us." This song was sung in the manner previously described.

Meanwhile Schooner with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner (Reuben's son) had been crouching together in a corner of the hall counting their money and arranging what should be done with it. Harry is neither capable nor influential, and young Andy acted as little more than clerk, so that Schooner, Reuben and George Nelson really decided everything. When the singing was over George Nelson and Schooner, the latter substituting for Dan Nelson who was absent owing to the approaching death of his infant daughter, walked once around the hall carrying three coppers and two rifles on their shoulders, then they returned to their places together.

Nebuchadnezzar had been selected to act as announcer for the paying of the money, simply because he was a man with a good voice and understood what was required. He took his place beside Schooner and the latter's assistants, and announced in a loud tone what they told him. First he announced that one of the copppers now displayed had been given to George Nelson as tzaman timut by Joe Williams's daughter. The other two coppers and the rifles were from Samuel King, assisted by his brother Albert and his sister Mrs. Alexander Clallaman, given to George Nelson with Samuel King's daughter. This payment was expected because it was a t laos m marriage.

Then came the actual distribution of money to make valid the whole ceremony. Schooner had first planned to use $200.00. which he had saved, but his wife gave him $20.00., and Joe Williams returned $150.00. to him, so that he only used $100.00 from his savings, making $270.00. inall. To this Reuben added $60.00., Harry $40.00., Dan Nelson $40.00., George contributed, as was fit and proper, the money just given to him by Samuel King, and the latter added to the common pile some money belonging to Jessie, the whole making a total of $364.00. As Schooner whispered to Nebuchadnezzar the latter held up a bill and said, e.g."$10.00. for so-and-so". A number of young men

xxxxx acted as messengers and carried the money to the individual named. As each received his, or her, share he took it without showing whether it was more or less tha he had expected. The amounts varied, the stalt m s receiving as much as $20.00 each, while the chilren received $1.00. or 50¢. Nebuchadnezzar called out the sum for each using the kusiut name of the person concerned, it would have been justifiable to use stalt m or atzqtut names, since this ceremony was in essesnce a m, but these names are little used and Nebuchadnezzar was not familiar with them all. During the morning the village had been scoured for change, but there was not enough avaxilable, in consequence sometimes five people were xxxxxxxx announced as sharing a $5.00. bill and this was entrusted to the first named for future distribution. $50.00X. was given to an influential Carrier for distribution among the othe r Carriers as he thought fit, many of them were virtual strangers to the Bella Coolas not one of whom could have shared the money satisfactorily among them. Money was also given to absent persons, and cared for by their friends. Everyone in the hall received something (except myself). This first distribution xx was spoken of as "eagle feathers to make good the path of the deceased", without it the ceremony would not have been valid. In the old days the presents were of less value than now, and food would have been used instead of money.

Only part of the money had been used in this general distribution, and the rest was now given out for special purposes and payments. Money was given to the women who had washed and dressed the corpse, those who had helped make the coffin, the canoemen who had brought it to Bella Coola, those who had carried it to the grave, the grave-diggers, the woman who had carried the fire, to the numusi m , especially the composers of the songs used, to the man who had worn the mask, to those who had helped him, to the bandboys (including payment for playing whenever Dan's child died), to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave, and to another carpenter to cut an eagle on a stone which would be erected over the grave, and to any others who had helped in the rites. In each case the money was held up to public view, the sum announced, and who it was to receive it, then a messenger carried it to the recipient. There are no fixed charges

for these tasks, it is left to the discretion of the donor of the ceremony, but his prestige would be lowered if he did not give enough, or if he showed undue favouritism though it is an established custom for a friend to receive more than a person with whom the donor is not on friendly terms. When money is paid for future work, such as the erection of a fence around the grave, such a task is carefully done.

Some of the money had been kept to validate the transmission of names. This money was distributed to all present (except myself), though the amount each received was trifling, in the case of children not more than 25¢. Schooner gave the atzqtut name of Patcatcus to Harry Schooner's son. It means, "Mount Nusqlst, where the first beams of the morning sun strike." To Reuben's son he gave the atzqtut name l matz, which came from the village of Snut t , meaning "The crash of the heavens", with reference to the noise made at the time long ago when Sonx (the firmament)fell. With each of these k names there is (or was) a story, they are often forgotten and only the name continues, and the story is only vaguely remembered as it "stands up again" when the name is transmitted after the death of its owner to some child of his family. Tallio Jenny, who is of Schooner's family, gave an X atzqtut name to Andy Schooner's infant son, she had contributed no money but being of the family some was paid from the common stock on the understanding that she would later repay. The transmission of names is not an essential part of the ceremony, but advantage was taken of the gathering to bequeath them. In each case it was announced how much money was being used for each name, and this was displayed before being distributed through the messengers.

Finally Jim Pollard took the opportunity to give the name Snus lkals to Schooner. The latter had helped at the burial of Jim's father some twenty years before and Jim was giving the name both in gratitude and in sympathy for Schooner's loss. It is not an absolute gift but must be returned to the Pollard family on Schooner's death. At some future occasion Pollard will make presents to validate this transaction.